

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 157398 TOSEC 050121

EXDIS

FOL REPEAT OF MADRID 4634 TO SECSTATE SECDEF JCS INFO USCINCEUR  
NATO JUL 03

QTE:

S E C R E T MADRID 4634

EXDIS

FROM MCCLOSKEY - PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP, US

SUBJ: SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS: ROUND 7, MADRID JUNE 30-JUL 3

REF: MADRID 4591

1. IN STEERING COMMITTEE MORNING JULY 2 ROVIRA RETURNED TO THE FACILITIES ISSUE, THIS TIME TO PRESENT "A SPANISH PROPOSAL" WHICH HE HOPED U.S. WOULD STUDY AND RESPOND TO AT 8TH ROUND IN WASHINGTON. HE BEGAN WITH THE REFRAIN THAT, GIVEN U.S. INABILITY TO APPROVE BILATERAL SECURITY GUARANTEE OR TO ARRANGE FOR SOME INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGE BETWEEN NATO AND SPANISH-US DEFENSE SYSTEM, GOS WOULD OFFER ONLY THOSE FACILITIES WHICH RELATE TO BILATERAL SPANISH-US DEFENSE INTERESTS. HE THEN

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REPEATED ESSENTIALLY WHAT HE HAD PROPOSED YESTERDAY, NAMELY THAT U.S. COULD REMAIN IN ROTA AND ENJOY ALL THE FACILITIES CURRENTLY THERE AND RETAIN ALL COMMUNICATIONS, FUEL AND AMMO FACILITIES IN SPAIN. THEN HE ADDED NEW ELEMENT, MERELY THAT

ALL WEAPONS ON SHORE COULD REMAIN AS WELL. BUT EVERYTHING ELSE --  
TORREJON, ZARAGOZA, MORON, THE TANKERS -- WOULD HAVE TO GO.  
ROVIRA ADDED THAT THIS NOW REPRESENTED A GOS "NEGOTIABLE"  
PROPOSAL.

2. MCCLOSKEY RESPONDED THAT HE REGRETTED PROFOUNDLY THAT GOS  
WAS TAKING SO DRASIC A POSITION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT, DESPITE  
GOS INTENTION OF PUNISHING NATO FOR ITS FAILURE TO ACKNOWLEDGE  
SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPRIVING FACILITIES IN SPAIN  
WHICH BENEFIT THE ALLIANCE, IT WOULD NOT BE PERCEIVED THAT WAY  
BY THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OR THE U.S. CONGRESS. RATHER, IT WOULD  
BE VIEWED AS NOTHING MORE THAN AN ANTI-US ACT AND WOULD SERIOUSLY  
IMPAIR OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, PARTICULARLY IF IT CAME SO  
SHORTLY AFTER THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

3. ROVIRA APPEARED UNMOVED. HE REPEATED FAMILIAR REFRAIN THAT  
SPAIN COULD NOT ACCEPT THE SECOND CLASS STATUS IT WAS BEING  
AFFORDED AS COMPARED TO NATO, WHICH, INTER ALIA, CONTRADICTED  
PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HE THEN OBSERVED  
THAT THE GOS SAW LITTLE VALUE IN A TREATY WITHOUT A SECURITY  
GUARANTEE, THOUGH HE LATER EXPRESSED INTEREST IN EXAMINING THE  
FRAMEWORK OF PAPER WE HAD PREPARED ON A NEW TREATY FORMAT.

4. IN THE PLENARY THAT FOLLOWED, ROVIRA RESTATED THE GOS  
POSITION AND MCCLOSKEY RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS A SELFDEFEATING  
PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD HAVE SERIOUS ADVERSE IMPACT ON WHAT THE  
U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH COULD DO TO COOPERATE WITH SPAIN IN THE  
FIELD OF DEFENSE. MCCLOSKEY REFERRED AGAIN TO THE ANTI-  
AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE GOS PROPOSAL.

COMMENT:

5. THE GOS APPEARS TO HAVE BACKED ITSELF INTO A CORNER ON  
FACILITIES, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY. IT HAS DONE SO FOR A VARIETY  
OF REASONS: FAILURE TO OBTAIN A SECURITY GUARANTEE, PARTIALLY  
TO RESPOND TO THE "PUBLIC PRESSURE" TO REDUCE U.S. PRESENCE  
AND ALSO BECAUSE ITS NATIONAL PRIDE HAS BEEN WOUNDED BY NATO  
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REJECTION. THE NATO INABILITY TO ACCEPT TIES WITH SPAIN HAS  
REVIVED GENERATIONS-OLD SPANISH RESENTMENT OF THE WEST  
EUROPEAN DISDAIN TOWARD IBERIA. THEIR PROPOSAL, WHICH SEEKS TO  
STRIKE BACK AT NATO THROUGH OUR FACILITIES, APPEARS LOGICAL  
TO THEM DESPITE OUR ARGUMENT THAT NATO ALLIES WILL NOT BE HURT --  
BUT US WILL. THE QUESTION BEFORE US NOW IS HOW WE DEAL WITH IT.

6. WE FACE OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GOS POSITION. FIRST,  
WE WOULD FIND IT AWKWARD TO COUNTENANCE SPANISH PUBLIC ATTACKS  
AGAINST NATO. SECOND, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE CANNOT ACCEPT  
A BASE AGREEMENT WHICH CONCEDES TO THE GOS, IMPLICITLY OR  
EXPLICITLY, THE RIGHT TO RESTRICT FUTURE USE OF OUR FACILITIES  
IN SPAIN ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ILLOGICAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN

NATO AND NON-NATO RELATED ACTIVITIES.

STABLER UNQTE INGERSOLL

SECRET

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